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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses historical, financial, and governance issues in American Indian education in New York State, as well as future directions that may be taken to improve educational opportunities for American Indians. In New York, unique interrelationships between tribes and state have shaped the development of Indian education down to the present time. Early on, the state assumed a very direct responsibility for Indian education, and because of the traditions and beliefs of the various tribes, there has generally been a reluctance to change existing arrangements. Public school districts serving Indian students from reservations receive a disproportionate amount of state aid, and the state provides tuition to full-time in-state Indian college students. Various tribes and the public school districts serving their children may be eligible for federal impact aid and for grant funds from federal educational programs. However, more traditional tribes have typically rejected federal funding because they do not want entanglements with the federal government, and have also been reluctant to be involved in the governance of the public schools their children attend. Nonetheless, it would behoove American Indian advocates to seek out all possible sources of financial support in their efforts to preserve Indian culture and at the same time give Indian students the skills they need to succeed in the modern world. Greater political activism, including voting on school budgets and serving on school boards, and the exploration of alternative types of school organization might also be useful in meeting these objectives. (RAH)

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Future Directions for American Indian Education In New York State

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ABSTRACT

"Future Directions for American Indian Education in New York State"

Major problems exist in how our nation provides for the education of American Indians. This paper discusses future directions that may be taken in one state to improve educational opportunities for American Indians. Although the specifics found in New York's situation may not be universally generalizable, they serve as a "case in point" to discuss a number of historical, financial, and governance issues.

In New York, there are unique and enduring inter-relationships between the various Indian tribes and the State which have shaped the development of Indian Education down to the present time. Early on, the State assumed a very direct responsibility for the education of it's Indian population and because of the traditions and beliefs of the several tribes, there has been, in general, a reluctance to change existing arrangements. Nonetheless, it would behoove American Indian advocates to seek out all possible sources of support in their efforts to preserve Indian culture and at the same time give Indian students the skills they need to succeed in the modern world.

Greater political activism, including voting on school budgets and serving on school boards, and the exploration of alternative types of school organization might also be useful in meeting these objectives. The possibilities in casino gambling on tribal lands as a source of funding is explored as well.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE

The education of American Indians has gained increased prominence in recent years through the 1992 White House Conference on Indian Education, which had been preceded by a series of state and regional preparatory meetings; by Public Law (P.L.) 102-188 and a Presidential Proclamation making 1992 "The Year of the American Indian;" by the issuance of a final report from the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force in December, 1991; and from discussions concerning the necessary re-authorization in 1994 of the Indian Education Act and the Impact Aid Program, the two largest Federal funding sources for Indian students.

However, much of this has had little significance for American Indian children in New York State. The Federal role in the education of Indians in New York is minimal and even though the Federal government annually appropriates many millions of dollars to operate Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools, to award grants to local educational agencies and tribes, and to provide Impact Aid to public school districts for Indian children, very little of this aid is available to assist in the education of Indian children in New York State. Indian children in New York that receive a public education are all educated in schools run by local school districts. Furthermore, the Boards of Education in those school districts are made up almost entirely of non-Indian members and the basic curriculum and costs for educating Indian children are determined by State and local officials.

This situation is in part the result of a unique historical relationship between the State and American Indian tribes concerning the provision of education to Indians in New York. However, with increasing interest among American Indian peoples in preserving their

heritage, and in self determination in their affairs, it may be time for New York tribes to re-examine their historic relationships with the State and to assert greater independence in the education of their children.

The Indian Presence In New York State

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, several treaties between New York State and certain Indian tribes established reservations within the ancestral home areas of the tribes. Consequently, there was early established a special relationship with, and obligations to, Americans Indians by the State. When the Federal government negotiated, nation to nation, with the same tribes, it reaffirmed land settlements that had previously been agreed to by the State.

By the 1795 Treaty of Canandaigua and the 1797 Seven Nations of Canada and subsequent treaties, the United States made peace with the Iroquois Confederacy of Nations and recognized the sovereign lands of the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca and Tuscarora tribes. Even though much of this land was later sold by the tribes, there still exist several areas of Indian reservation lands at various locations throughout New York State as result of these treaties (see Figure 1). The State also later established reservations for the Algonquin Poospatuck (now also known as Unkechaug) and Shinnecock tribes on Long Island. Although the reservations have thrived, many Indians in New York live and work off-reservation, generally either in communities adjoining the reservations or in the cities of the State. This is a common phenomenon across the country. It has been reported that a majority of Indians nationally have had to leave the reservations in order to find jobs that

pay well enough for them to support their families (Institute for Educational Leadership, 1990).

In the decade of the 1980's there was a resurgence of pride in their heritage and the number of persons claiming American Indian ancestry grew nationally by more than a third, the greatest increase of any racial group. The Indian population in New York has been increasing at a rapid rate and New York is now one of ten states having the largest numbers of Indian residents, these ten accounting for fully two-thirds of the national total. From 1980 to 1990 the U.S. census reported a total increase in American Indians residing in New York from 39,582 to 62,651 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1991). This 58.3% increase is actually well above the 37.9% national rate of increase and the new pride is exemplified by establishment in the 1980's of both the Native American Center for the Living Arts in Niagara Falls and the Iroquois Indian Museum in Schoharie, as well as the Seneca-Iroquois National Museum in Salamanca.

However, at the same time there was this increase in the overall Indian population in New York, the number of Indian children needing to be educated has declined. Even though 293 school districts out of the 730 in New York have at least one Indian student, the total number of Indian children in the State declined from 6339 in 1984-85 to 5942 in 1991-92. Nonetheless, these children, particularly those on reservations, may face the greatest odds in school due to poverty, isolation, cultural differences and language barriers.

The National Center for Education Statistics has reported that American Indians are under-represented in programs for the gifted, 1.1 percent of Indian students compared to 1.5 percent of Blacks and Hispanics and 2.9 percent of Whites, (Plisko and Stern, 1985), and

Kirschenbaum (1988) found, conversely, a higher percentage of Indian students in programs for the learning disabled than from any other ethnic group. As is also the case nationally, American Indian students in New York living off the reservations are, as it were, cut off from many aspects of their cultural heritage. The fact that Indian children on a national scale have the highest school dropout rate has been reported (Pallas, 1986) and everything that can be done to provide them with opportunity to succeed in school, should be done.

The New York State Board of Regents, which is the governing board for education in New York, issued a position paper entitled Native American Education in 1975. In this far-sighted policy statement it was stated that "educational programs should accommodate specific tribal cultural differences by attempting to provide bilingual and bicultural learning environments to be offered to students at their choice and which will enable the Native American to function more effectively in a pluralistic society (State Education Department 1975:4)." However, it may be that the education now generally being provided to Indian children in New York, does not and can not entirely meet their needs.

Indian Education in New York

The State of New York has over the years through several successive Laws assumed the moral and financial obligation for educating Indian children. Section 111 and Article 83 of New York State Education Law give the Commissioner of Education the responsibility for ensuring that American Indian children residing on reservation lands be provided with appropriate education and sets down the conditions under which such education will take place. To this end, the State now supports schools on three of the reservations, pays the

costs for Indian students attending public schools off the reservations and provides aid for attendance at institutions of higher education.

The State had been providing aid for the support of American Indian children attending school both off reservation and on reservation before 1846, but the responsibilities of the State were first clarified by Law enacted in that year. By 1875, there were 26 reservation schools on 8 reservations and school attendance was made mandatory for all American Indian children between the ages of 6 and 16 in 1904 (State Education Department, 1990).

Over the next several decades, consolidation of small schools on reservations was strongly encouraged, as it was for small rural schools everywhere, and several new more centrally located school buildings were constructed on the five reservations of Allegany (Seneca tribe), Cattaraugus (Seneca tribe), Onondaga (Onondaga tribe), St. Regis (also now known as Akwesasne) (Mohawk tribe) and Tuscarora (Tuscarora tribe). By 1938, the number of reservation schools had been reduced to 8 and most students attended high school off the reservations (State Education Department, 1990). In the early 1950's, elementary education at the reservation schools began to be coordinated more closely with adjacent public school districts and this resulted over a period of years in a further closing of schools on the Poospatuck (Unkechaug) and Shinnecock reservations on Long Island, as well as at Cattaraugus and Allegany.

Only three reservation elementary schools now remain and these are operated, under contract with the State, by the neighboring public school districts of Lafayette (Onondaga school) Niagara-Wheatfield (Tuscarora school) and Salmon River (St. Regis or Akwesasne

school). These reservation schools are owned by the State but are situated on lands leased from the tribes. The State provides aid to the three school districts for the full costs of the basic education program at these schools. The tuition and transportation costs for American Indian students attending secondary schools in these same three districts, and similar costs in ten other districts for the education of Indian students at both the elementary and secondary levels, is also provided by the State, as indicated in Table 1.

Each of the 13 school districts educating students from the reservations receive, in addition to this special Indian Aid, all of the other usual State aids including general operating aid, building aid, and special categorical aids to help pay for the excess costs of educating handicapped, low English proficient and disadvantaged students. Operating and building aids, which account for 74 percent of all school aid Statewide, are provided in inverse proportion to school district wealth. In calculating these aids, the American Indian students are counted as if they were resident students but under Section 3206 (2)(b) of Education Law the wealth of the Indian families living on reservations is not included in total school district wealth. Hence, these school districts appear to be much poorer on a per pupil basis then they really are and they receive disproportionately greater amounts of wealth based aids. Local property taxes, conversely, are kept artificially low. The greater the percentage of Indian students in the district, of course, the greater the effect. There is a further 5 percent add-on to school building aid for the American Indian students in those districts.

In 1953, Section 4118 of Education Law was enacted to also provide State aid to New York American Indian students attending institutions of higher education in the State on a

full-time basis. Students may attend public or private colleges, but aid is limited to the tuition amount charged at the colleges in the State University system. Appropriations have decreased since the 1970's at the same time Indian enrollments have increased, so the amounts paid out now exceed the amounts available each year with the result that the next year's monies have had to be used to make up for shortfalls in current year appropriations.

Even though the amount of State aid for elementary and secondary Indian education has increased, from $10.7 million in 1991-92 to $12.5 million for 1992-93 and for 1993-94, during a time of State fiscal difficulties and cuts in other aid programs, this has still been insufficient to cover costs so payments have had to be delayed, and again, taken out of next year appropriations. This practice of drawing on future funds to pay for current expenditures does not bode well for the ability of the State to meet its obligations to Indian students in the future and so other sources of funds may need to be found. Furthermore, there are no additional State funds to pay for the special supplementary services Indian students may need.

The Federal Role in Indian Education

The Federal role in American Indian education is carried out primarily through funding provided under several programs. The need for Federal aid to assist in the education of American Indians where there were large tracts of non-taxable Indian owned land was first addressed in 1934 through the Johnson-O'Malley Act which provided for a variety of basic social and education services. Through the Education Amendment of 1978 (P.L. 95-561, Section 1103 b) there was a shift in general Federal aid to school districts

educating American Indian students from the Johnson O'Malley to the Impact Aid program. However, supplemental education services are still provided by Johnson-O'Malley and in New York the Mohawk and Seneca tribes have received grants under this program.

Under Impact Aid, any student living on Federal trust land, whether Indian or non-Indian, is counted as a Section "a" student, the highest category of aid for this program. In addition, a school district is eligible to receive 25 percent more for each student living on Indian lands if the local board of education adopts policies and procedures for soliciting recommendations from the tribes concerning the needs of Indian children and in the planning and operation of programs to ensure the equal participation of Indian students in the school program. Over $200 million in Impact Aid is used to support the education of Indian students (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1988) and the Federal budget also includes funds under P.L. 81-815 for school construction for which school districts serving children on Indian lands are eligible.

Although no school districts in New York apply for Federal Impact Aid for children living on Indian lands, there is no question that the Iroquois reservation lands are eligible. Indeed, the 1991 listing of approved properties for Impact Aid issued by the U.S. Department of Education included several of the tribal lands in New York, even though these lands had never before been claimed. The two Algonquin reservations on Long Island should also be eligible properties.

There are grant funds under the Bilingual Education Act to assist American Indian students who speak their native language and certain other Federal aid programs include set-aside provisions for Indian students. These latter programs include ESEA Chapter 1, the

Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, EESA Chapter 2 and Vocational Education. Still other education aid programs accept applications from Indian tribes when non-profit agencies or organizations are eligible to apply.

Finally, Title V of P.L. 100-297, the Hawkins-Stafford amendments of 1988, re-authorized a broad array of programs at all levels for the education of American Indians. Under Title V, there are three major categories of grants that are available. These are formula grants to tribes and to schools having 10 or more Indian students; special enrichment programs to improve opportunities for Indian students; and programs for Indian adult and post-secondary education. The formula grant funds may be used for general instruction, counseling, tutoring, cultural heritage activities, staff development, the acquisition of equipment and for minor remodeling. Of 77 school districts in New York State with 10 or more Indian students, only 15 received a Title V formula grant in 1990-91. Fourteen of them, however, are among the twenty school districts with the largest numbers of Indian students as indicated in Table 2.

Despite the fact there are these many Federal aid programs that could be applied for, either directly by the tribes or by the school districts educating American Indian students, some tribes do not want Federal aid because they neither want any entanglements with the Federal government nor a retreat by the State from its historic support of Indian Education. Others will accept Federal aid only under the condition it is in addition to all of the State aids.

The tribes in New York are governed under two types of systems, one termed Traditional, in which clan chiefs are chosen and then serve for life, and the other Elective,

with an elected President and a Council of Chiefs or Board of Trustees. It has been noted that typically it is the Traditional tribes that have rejected Federal funds (State Education Department, 1990). Even after the Niagara-Wheatfield School District obtained approval for a Title V grant, for example, but needed sign-off by the Tuscaroras, cooperation was refused and the grant had to be declined.

There is also a reluctance among the Traditionals to be involved in the governance of the public schools their children attend. Although Section 2012 of State Education Law makes American Indians residing on reservations eligible to vote in school district elections and to serve on school boards, the Oneida, Onondaga, Tonawanda Senecas and Tuscaroras still do not generally participate in school board elections because voting is contrary to their political beliefs (State Education Department, 1992a). The Mohawks and Senecas, however, have not only voted but have had members serve on public school boards of education.

Although such actions as the refusal of Federal aid and the lack of participation in school governance matters can be understood from a historical perspective, they may be shortsighted. The world is changing whether anyone likes it or not and at an accelerating pace at that and although the State does provide some basic educational support to Indians, the funds appropriated in recent years have been insufficient. In many places, the rates of poverty among American Indian families are high and there is a need for supplemental services such as guidance counseling and parent-home liaison to prevent dropping out, as well as for instructional support to offset disadvantagement, and for community participation to bring Indian cultural values and learning to the educational process. Students from Indian families could be assisted in these areas by Federally funded educational services if they

were sought out more fully. Ironically, the first Federal treaty providing for Indian Education in 1794 was with the Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge tribes of New York (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1988).

Future Directions

It has been noted that one of the greatest problems facing American Indians today is cultural extinction (Institute for Educational Leadership, 1990). The College Entrance Examination Board convened a national dialogue concerning the future of Indian education in 1988 and reported that, "Indian people want their children to value their culture and traditions, but they also want their children to have basic academic competencies and subject-matter knowledge when they emerge from the educational pipeline (College Entrance Examination Board, 1989:1)." The problem is how to address these sometimes conflicting goals, to preserve the Indian culture yet give Indian students the skills they need to function in the contemporary world.

One way to achieve this is to send Indian students to public schools where they will learn non-Indian skills and ways but to then provide supplemental teaching about Indian history, language and traditions outside the regular school day. Or, another approach is to incorporate Indian values and culture into the curriculum of those public schools the Indian children attend. To be successful, this latter approach requires an understanding and cooperative board of education and school administration.

It has been recommended that American Indian parents seek positions on school boards and become more actively involved in local school policy and programs to ensure that

the proper attention is given to Indian culture (College Entrance Examination Board, 1989). However, this is not always possible or easy to do where there are wide cultural, economic and political divides between the Indian and non-Indian communities. For example, in 1991 the 99 year lease of Seneca lands on which the City of Salamanca was built, expired. After much negotiation, settlement payments and new land leases were established under the Federal Seneca Nation Settlement Act (P.L. 101-503) and Chapter 528 of New York State Laws of 1991. However, there remained lingering resentment among some non-Indians and in an apparent backlash, no Seneca candidate could then win a seat on the local board of education (State Education Department, 1992b).

For many Indian students, a public school education is still the only realistic option because they live too far from the reservation, or the reservation schools do not go far enough in grade levels. Still, over the past two decades there has been somewhat of a movement of Indian students to the existing reservation schools in New York with total enrollment in reservation schools increasing from 312 students in 1974 to 504 in 1991.

In a State Pupil Evaluation Program to test student performance in reading, mathematics and writing, it was found that a greater percentage of Indian students in the contract schools performed at or above grade level than did students on a Statewide basis in all areas except Grade 5 writing. However, they did not do as well as non-Indian students in the contract schools, as indicated in Table 3. Yet, a greater percentage of Indian students attending reservation schools performed at or above grade level then did both students Statewide and non-Indian students in the three school districts which operate the reservation schools.

Even though the numbers of students are small, these results appear to suggest that Indian students can do better academically when they attend schools located on the reservation, even when the schools are operated by outside agencies. It will be important to continue to follow the progress of these students over a period of time and to collect data on other students coming up through these grade levels to determine if there are patterns of differential results among these student groups over time. There may be definite links to more positive self-esteem and higher levels of achievement for Indian students educated on the reservations.

There have been State funded studies concerning the conditions and capacities of reservation school facilities and funds have been appropriated by the State for necessary renovations and additions to bring the existing reservation schools up to modern standards. However, the amount appropriated, $6 million in the 1992-93 budget, is not enough to fund extensive work at all three schools and in fact falls far short of the $17 million needed. (New York State Education Department, 1990).

Initially, only a portion of these funds (which continue to be re-appropriated each year until fully expended) has been spent on architectural plans with actual construction to follow. Even so, it is important that all of the necessary funds be appropriated so that the projects can go forward to the construction phase in the certainty that the funds have been segregated to and will be available for this purpose.

In recent years there has also been some discussion about expanding the grade levels at the schools on the St. Regis (Akwesasne) reservation from K-3 to K-6 and at Onondaga to K-12 The Onondaga school is presently K-8. Such grade expansion would further

increase the need and costs for new construction at those two schools. There is currently no discussion about expanding the Tuscarora school which is K-6.

Still, these reservation schools are owned by the State and operated by public schools so control of curriculum and policies rests in non-Indian hands. Perhaps the most promising possibilities for Indian input into the educational process would exist in tribally controlled schools in which the curriculum would be designed to teach both modern learning and cultural traditions. Within the Mohawk and the Seneca tribes there is growing interest in establishing tribally-controlled schools on the reservations. Whether such schools would be regarded as separate school districts within the public school system of the State, as private schools, or as State supported schools would be the next issue.

There are several interesting possibilities for the funding of reservation schools. If a tribe were to assume control of its reservation school and establish it as a new school district, made up entirely of the reservation, the new district would be directly eligible for both State and Federal aid, including Impact Aid. In Maine, P.L. 96-420, the Indian Land Claims Settlement Act, and State law made two tribes in Maine Federally recognized tribes and their lands municipalities of the State. Just like the schools of these two tribes in Maine, reservation schools in New York could possibly become Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs contract schools as well as public schools. A particular problem in Maine is that as municipalities, the tribal lands are also subject to State laws and regulations.

If local revenue to support a reservation school district is needed, this local revenue would not necessarily have to be derived from property taxes, of course. It could be a percentage of receipts from the sales of goods produced on the reservation, or from service

industries such as gasoline stations or tax free stores selling such items as cigarettes, or from games of chance such as bingo, which already take place on certain reservations, or from full scale casino operations.

In fact, under P.L. 100-497, the Federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, the profits from gambling operations are to be used by the tribes to expand economic development, fund tribal and local governmental programs and promote the general welfare of tribal members. Education could be a primary activity area for use of these funds.

In recent years, casinos have been established on Indian lands in other states and one casino has now been opened in New York as well. The subject of a casino has been raised by some Senecas and some Mohawks but there are differences of opinion, sometimes violent on the St. Regis (Akwesasne) reservation, concerning this topic so it has been the Oneidas who opened the first one in New York. This is part of a larger plan to bring groups of Oneidas back to their homelands in Central New York from Wisconsin, Ontario and other places to which they migrated. Bingo and casino profits are being used in part to construct new housing for the returning Oneidas.

The State itself raises millions of dollars each year for education (expected to rise to over a billion dollars after 1993-94 and amounting to 10 percent of all State Aid to schools) from a lottery, so using gambling profits to fund reservation schools would not be inconsistent with State policy.

Although creation of tribally controlled schools would probably be less expensive to the State, since it would no longer be burdened with the full cost of education for the students who attend those schools, there would be a decidedly negative effect on certain of

the contract school districts. These contract districts would, first of all, be deprived of a significant percentage of their student populations. With the removal of the American Indian students from the schools, the apparent wealth of these school districts on a per pupil basis would rise significantly and those State aids distributed on the basis of school district wealth would diminish. The local taxpayers would be obliged to pick up a greater share of the cost of education in their schools and at the same time diseconomies of scale would be introduced. If the reservation schools eventually expanded to K-12, the effect on the contract districts would be all the more. In addition to the financial impact, the contract districts would lose some of their diversity and possibly the advantages of a more culturally enriched curriculum. With fewer students, there would be fewer classes and fewer course offerings.

Eventually, if the need exists, it might be possible to establish an American Indian college in New York. The first such college was established in 1968 in Arizona and there are now at least two dozen of them located in the West and Midwest (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1988). It has been reported that only 10 percent of American Indian students who enter college ever graduate (College Entrance Examination Board, 1989). A tribally controlled college or one supported by a consortium of tribes might be a less alien and more positive environment to Indian students in New York and the curriculum could reflect a recognition and respect for their Indian heritage. Another possibility is establishment of a satellite campus on reservation lands under the auspices of a State college.

There would be a large risk to the American Indian people if they controlled their own schools because they would have the burden of success or failure resting principally on

themselves. Still, the opportunity to exert leadership on their own behalf and that of their children and to more fully direct their own destiny has to be appealing.

Perhaps in the coming years greater Federal involvement will be permitted and a portion of funds raised from various Indian enterprises on the reservations will be dedicated to education, thereby enabling stronger and more varied educational programs under existing or different types of financing and governance arrangements. If history is any guide, the several tribes in New York will probably take many different approaches to addressing the educational needs of American Indian students in the future, just as they do now.

TABLE 1

School Districts Providing Education
To American Indian
Reservation Students

School District	Reservation Served	Services Provided
Akron	Tonawanda	Tuition and transportation
Center Moriches	Poospatuck (Unkechaug)	Tuition and transportation
Gowanda	Cattaraugus	Tuition and transportation
Lake Shore	Cattaraugus	Tuition and transportation
Lafayette	Onondaga	Tuition, transportation and reservation school
Onondaga	Onondaga	Tuition and transportation
Massena	St. Regis (Akwesasne)	Tuition and transportation
Niagara-Wheatfield	Tuscarora	Tuition, transportation and reservation school
Salamanca	Allegany	Tuition and transportation
Salmon River	St. Regis (Akwesasne)	Tuition, transportation and reservation school
Silver Creek	Cattauraugus	Tuition and transportation
Southampton	Shinnecock	Tuition and transportation
Stockbridge Valley	Oneida	Tuition and transportation

Source: New York State Education Department

TABLE 2

School Districts With the Largest
Numbers of Indian Students, 1991

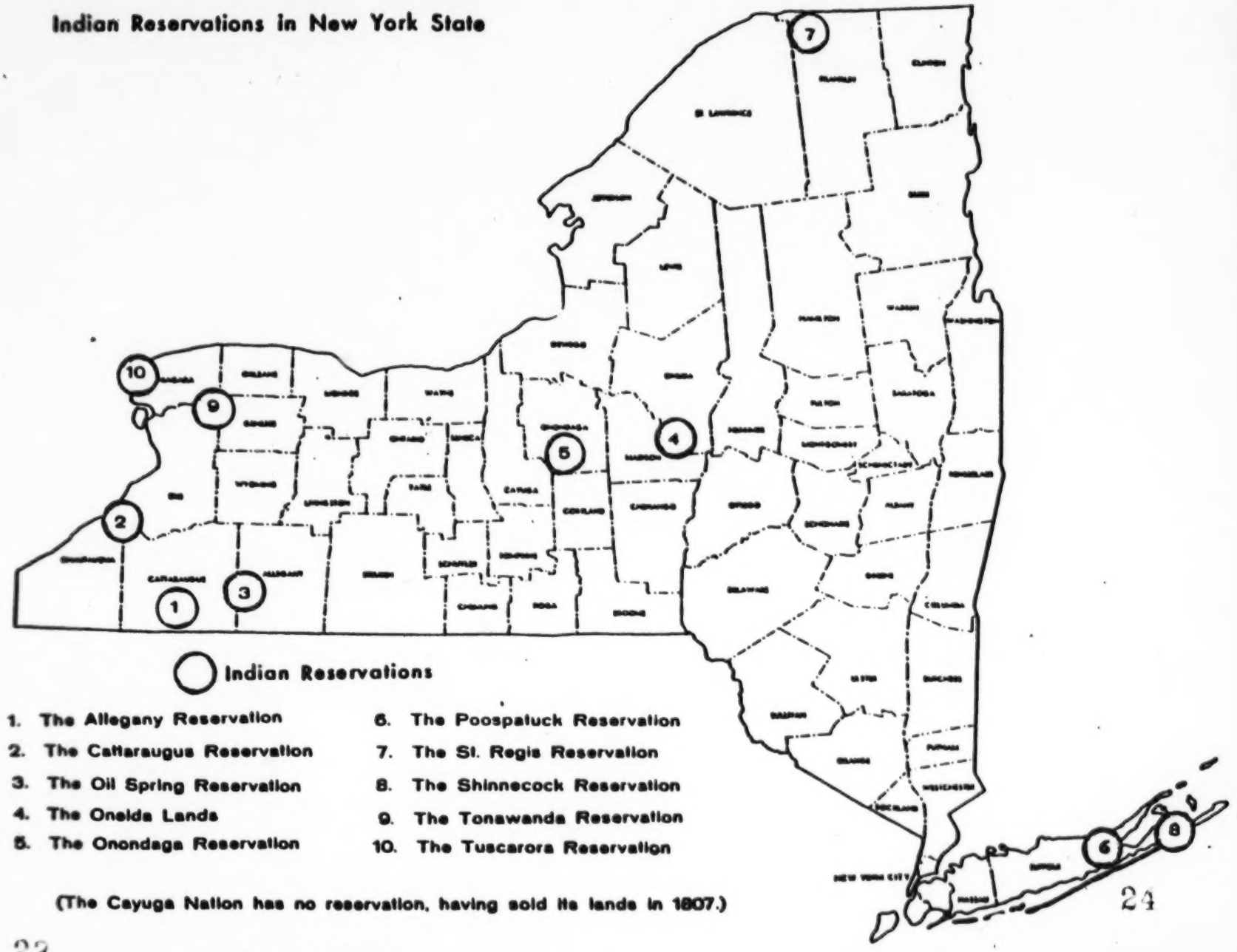
School District	Number of Indian Students	Total Enrollment	Percent Indian Enrollment	Title V Grant
Salmon River	821	1,550	53.0	yes
Buffalo*	757	46,155	1.6	yes
Syracuse*	562	22,002	2.6	yes
New York City*	540	950,452	.1	yes
Gowanda	399	1,607	24.9	yes
Salamanca*	334	1,612	20.7	yes
Lafayette	298	1,193	25.0	no
Niagara Falls*	255	9,110	2.8	yes
Niagara Wheatfield	226	3,766	6.0	no
Brentwood	166	11,877	1.4	no
Silver Creek	156	1,332	11.7	yes
Evans-Brant	148	3,548	4.2	no
Akron	116	1,496	7.8	yes
Rochester*	110	33,184	.3	yes
Rush-Henrietta	99	5,539	1.8	yes
Southampton	81	1,362	5.9	yes
N. Syracuse	80	9,556	.8	yes
Massena	77	3,065	2.5	no
Jamestown*	60	5,771	.1	no
Center Moriches	51	1,154	4.4	yes

*City School District

Sources: U.S. Department of Education and N.Y. State Education Department

Figure 1

Indian Reservations in New York State



Indian Reservations

1. The Allegany Reservation
2. The Cattaraugus Reservation
3. The Oil Spring Reservation
4. The Onelda Lands
5. The Onondaga Reservation
6. The Poospatuck Reservation
7. The St. Regis Reservation
8. The Shinnecock Reservation
9. The Tonawanda Reservation
10. The Tuscarora Reservation

(The Cayuga Nation has no reservation, having sold its lands in 1807.)

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